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(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt

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Table of Contents

Todd GILLEN, Introduction and overview; editor's comments .... p. 7–18

1. *Text*

Jean WINAND, (Re)productive traditions in Ancient Egypt.
Some considerations with a particular focus on literature and language(s) .... p. 19–40

Daniel A. WERNING, Inner-Egyptian receptions of a theological book between reproduction, update, and creativity. The Book of Caverns from the 13th to the 4th century BCE .... p. 41–67

Marina SOKOLOVA, The tradition of the Coffin Texts in Hermopolis.
Productive or reproductive? .... p. 69–93

Chloé C.D. RAGAZZOLI, Beyond authors and copyists. The role of variation in Ancient Egyptian and New Kingdom literary production .... p. 95–126

Boyo G. OCKINGA, "As god endures, there is no misstatement in my utterance!"
The context of the assertions of truthfulness in the biography of Saroy (TT 233) .... p. 127–148

Hans-Werner FISCHER-ELFERT, Cross-genre correspondences.
Wisdom, medical, mathematical and oneirological compositions from the Middle Kingdom to the late New Kingdom .... p. 149–161

Camilla DI-BIASE DYSON, Metaphor in the teaching of Menena.
Between rhetorical innovation and tradition .... p. 163–179

2. *Art*

Whitney DAVIS, Ancient Egyptian illusions.
Pictorial bivirtuality in canonical Egyptian depiction .... p. 181–201

Vanessa DAVIES, Complications in the stylistic analysis of Egyptian art.
A look at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu .... p. 203–228

Dimitri LABOURY, Tradition and Creativity.
Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art .... p. 229–258

Gabriele PIEKE, Lost in transformation.
Artistic creation between permanence and change .... p. 259–304

Tamás A. BÁCS, Traditions old and new.
Artistic production of the late Ramesside period .... p. 305–332

Alexis DEN DONCKER, Identifying-copies in the private Theban necropolis.
Tradition as reception under the influence of self-fashioning processes .... p. 333–370

Lubica HUDÁKOVÁ, Middle Kingdom transformations of an Old Kingdom artistic tradition.
The *m33*-scene .... p. 371–394

Campbell PRICE, "His image as perfect as the ancestors"
On the transmission of forms in non-royal sculpture during the First Millennium B.C. .... p. 395–410

3. *Artefact*

Valérie ANGENOT, Remnants of the past. Skeuomorphic traditions in Ancient Egypt .... p. 411–424

Lucie JIRÁSKOVÁ, Abusir miniature and model stone vessels of the Old Kingdom
The Digital Puzzle of the *talatat* from Karnak .... p. 425–443

Carlo RINDI NUZZOLO, Tradition and transformation
Retracing Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures from Akhmim in museums and private collections .... p. 445–474

4. *Traditions across media*

Pascal VERNUS, Modelling the relationship between reproduction and production
of 'sacralized' texts in Pharaonic Egypt .... p. 475–509

Todd J. GILLEN, Writing productive traditions.
The emergence of the monumental Triumph Scene at Thebes .... p. 511–536

Hana NAVRATILOVA, Thutmoside graffiti and Thutmoside traditions.
A view from Memphis .... p. 537–561

Éva LIPTAY, From funerary papyrus to tomb wall and vice versa.
Innovation and tradition in early Third Intermediate Period funerary art .... p. 563–592

Andreas DORN, The *iri.n* Personal-Name-formula in non-royal texts of the New Kingdom.
A donation mark or a means of self-presentation? .... p. 593–621

Introduction and overview; editor's comments

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Tradition is central to Egyptology, yet individual traditions in textual, artistic and material production still await critical treatment, and methodological frameworks for analysis are yet to be elaborated. The conceptual space that tradition occupies is more often than not intuitively divined, and could benefit from explicit discussion and problematisation. This volume is intended as a first step in this direction. It collects a broad survey of approaches to tradition in Egyptology, bringing together work on archaeological, art historical and philological material from the Predynastic to the Late Period in the hope of stimulating exploration of the topic. Certainly it has provoked many different responses and resulted in insights from many different points of view, dealing with largely disparate sets of data. The eclectic mix of material in this volume takes us from New Kingdom artists in the Theban foothills to Old Kingdom Abusir, and from changing ideas about literary texts to the visual effects of archaising statuary. With themes of diachrony persisting at the centre, aspects of tradition are approached from a variety of perspectives: as sets of conventions abstracted from the continuity of artefactual forms; as processes of knowledge (and practice) acquisition and transmission; and as relevant to the individuals and groups involved in artefact production.

The concepts of *productivity* and *reproductivity* that link many of the contributions are inspired by the field of text criticism[1] and are used as reference points for describing cultural change and the (dis)continuity of traditions. Briefly put, productive or open traditions are in a state of flux that stands in dialectic relation to shifting social and historical circumstances, while reproductive or closed traditions are frozen at a particular historical moment and their formulations are thereafter faithfully passed down verbatim. While a narrow binary structure may be a little restrictive, a continuum between the two poles of dynamic productivity and static reproductivity is by all means relevant to and useful for the description of various types of symbolisation, and probably all types of cultural production.

The volume is divided into four main sections, the first three of which attempt to reflect the different material foci of the contributions: text, art, and artefacts. The final section collects papers dealing with traditions which span different media. This is chiefly an organisational principle and facilitates specialists finding their relevant material. In doing so, I hope not to have discouraged a curiosity for reading outside one's field, since every paper sheds light on the themes of cultural transmission and (re)production. There is a general thematic trend that begins at the reproductive end of the spectrum and runs to the productive: the opening contributions in Section 1 discuss

1. For discussion in Egyptology, see Assmann 1995: 6; Quack 1994: 13–23; Kahl 1999: 37–38.

'predominantly reproductive' traditions, and the volume concludes with Section 4, the papers of which address situations of high productivity.

This introduction gives a short, abstract-style overview for each paper, often including comments that localise the paper vis-à-vis the theme of *(re)productivity*. My own editor's comments on the Egyptological approach to tradition close the introduction and I hope inspire some ideas for future directions of study.

Section 1: text

The Egyptological treatment of textual traditions has a long and successful history and follows broader, pan-disciplinary approaches to reproduction. **Jean Winand** gives an introduction to the text critical method for establishing stemmata that describe reproductive traditions, including notes on its history and basic principles. With discussion of the textual traditions of *The Story of Sinuhe* and *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, he both reviews classic cases of reproduction as well as interrogates instances of productivity in such texts. Moving to a consideration of issues of transmission, Winand proposes of a novel way of understanding the transmission history of *Sinuhe*. This new hypothetical stemma challenges established transmission histories of the text and involves a reconceptualisation of the canon as dynamically alive and engaged in a complex literary interplay with the *Teaching of Amenemhet*. Winand closes his introductory paper with an overview and linguistic illustrations of the phenomenon known as *égyptien de tradition*.

Daniel Werning treads similar ground with his meticulous demonstration of the complexities of the 'predominantly reproductive' tradition of the Book of Caverns. He details the evidence that allows us to characterise its different—'reproductive' as well as 'creative'—kinds of reception throughout the centuries: for example, the array of (un)intentional changes that could occur in a text and it still be considered 'reproductive,' including personalising the text or emending it for various reasons—often to improve the reading. The rigor of this analysis enables the differentiation and categorisation of changes made at different stages of the production process: copies made from manuscript or monument sources, and changes made by scribes (as authors) or the artisans who executed the monuments. Werning's very precise work impressively shows at one point (§6.3.2) how the ancient copyists, fully trained in varieties of *égyptien de tradition*, were nonetheless insensitive to the idiosyncratic grammar of the corpus. This contribution is above all significant for its discussion of the means of composition of the texts: Werning has been able to prove certain 'library traditions' and characterises the scribes who entered tombs to copy texts and images as 'archeo-philologists.' This is a rare penetration to the level of everyday practice, a theme that will be taken up again later in the section on art (*cf.* papers of Laboury and esp. Den Doncker).

A focus on the kinds of changes, reworkings, and modifications taking place within the conceptual bounds of a 'predominantly reproductive' tradition is also at the heart of **Marina Sokolova**'s analysis of Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts (CT) attested on Hermopolite coffins (modern day Bersheh). She tracks spell sequences ('strings') in order to both determine which are unique to Bersheh, and which are also attested in other regional corpora (*e.g.* Thebes, Assiut, Meir), and also to cross-reference the occurrence of strings with social status, *i.e.* nomarchs *vs.* other high officials *vs.* officials. Based on the results of this thorough analysis, informed attempts are made to reconstruct the nature of the Bersheh tradition and its mode(s) of transmission. Among her numerous detailed conclusions, Sokolova explodes a common misconception, based on weak evidence, that copies of CT spells were stored in

libraries. Rather, most of the evidence from Bersheh suggests the existence of private collections, and that individuals circulated manuscripts privately, mostly within familial, social, or professional milieux. It seems that the CT tradition was introduced to Bersheh and transmitted *reproductively*, where Hermopolitans played the part of "active users, but not generators" of the texts.

These first papers initially begin with cases of reproductivity and problematising them. *Variation* is a key word in this context and it is the interpretive route **Chloé Ragazzoli** takes in exploring transmission and the role of the scribe. Taking the Late Egyptian Miscellanies as a case study, she opens up for study the mind of the scribe by deploying a sensitivity to so-called textual 'errors' and viewing them as 'variants.' Via diverse analyses she surveys an array of variation—from mechanical faults and the rhythms of reed dipping to compilation and intertextuality—and transforms what is usually considered 'contamination' by the text critical approach into a great source of understanding for a corpus often considered unfaithfully reproductive. Drawing on work in textual transmission from classic and medieval studies, Ragazzoli's work is informed by material philology and collapses the distinction between authors and copyists: she rethinks 'scribe' as neither, suggesting instead "textual craftsman."

Although a focus on reproduction by and large dominates the Egyptological study of text, approaches to productive traditions are nonetheless emerging. There is no standard way of handling such traditions, and 'productivity' should be seen as an umbrella term for a variety of kinds of tradition and transmission; the final three papers in this section offer some food for thought in that regard.

Boyo Ockinga's contribution looks at the textual tradition of the *assertions of truthfulness*, using as a springboard the biography of the Ramesside high official Saroy found in Theban Tomb 233. Ockinga collects a corpus of 41 texts and explores the historical circumstances of such claims, their content, and in particular their characteristic lexical items and phrases. Ockinga observes that the formulation of such claims varies considerably and characterises it as a highly productive tradition, with similarities between instances deriving from common elite repertoires of literary and cultural knowledge. The subsequent thought-provoking discussion implies that the route for cultural transmission does not follow the common top-down direction: Ockinga takes up the idea that the original *Sitz im Leben* of such claims is in "formalised oral boasting," and the evidence indicates that they found entry into the monumental sphere via the biographical inscriptions of the provincial elite of the First Intermediate Period, perhaps progressing to the royal sphere only afterwards. As to Saroy's particular reasons for including such assertions in his biography, Ockinga reconstructs plausible motivations based on the facts of the high official's life, bringing a personal perspective to the deployment of such traditions.

Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert takes us in a different direction in his discussion of the similarities (syntax, lexicon, argument structure) between many different kinds of textual genres. A comparison of wisdom and medical discourses in particular shows up similar argumentation structures consisting of sequences of conditional statements (*if…then*): the problem or symptom is given in the protasis; the solution or treatment in the apodosis. Such an arrangement never leads to the formulation of a general theory for universal application; rather, representative case studies are intended as points of guidance for the future high official or physician. Fischer-Elfert shrewdly observes that the processes consistently orient around perception and cognition, finding their places in the texts via the lexical items *mꜣꜣ* "see", *gmi* "find" and *rḫ* "know." He comes to similar conclusions about mathematical and oneirological texts and discusses how similar textual forms can nonetheless serve different cultural

functions. In this context of this volume, Fischer-Elfert's wider perspective points out an important limitation to studying text from the perspective of tradition: such correspondences are not simply textual convention, but indicate overarching patterns of thought.

Finally, **Camilla Di-Biase Dyson** takes a fresh interdisciplinary look at the Ramesside *Teaching of Menena* in order to describe a case of maximal productivity in Egyptian literature. That the teaching contains intertextual references to canonical New Kingdom literary texts has for a long while been common knowledge in Egyptology. Di-Biase Dyson extends our understanding of the ways in which the text engages with its textual tradition via a metaphor analysis novel to Egyptology: metaphor usage is analysed at the word level and metaphor distribution at the text level. What initially results is not only the sketch of a method for metaphor analysis, but also a descriptive typology of metaphor patterns. In application, Di-Biase Dyson surveys a number of indirect metaphors in *Menena* that draw on the lexical significations of canonical wisdom texts and create a generic intertextuality. She also identifies text-level patterns of (particularly nautical) imagery used to make analogies for life paths, choices and obstacles. This contribution is a valuable advance in capturing the broad relationships between the expression of ancient Egyptian creativity and literary tradition, and lays the foundation for exciting future results.

Section 2: art

Section 2 of this volume brings together art historical approaches to tradition, and begins with the reflections of **Whitney Davis** on the Egyptological history of tradition vis-à-vis wider art history. It is a general overview as much as a personal account of his significant contribution to the discussion—in Egyptology and elsewhere—and orienting particularly about the issues of style and canonicity. Pulling apart his own previous work, he supplements a past concern for the *visuality* of Egyptian art with a present preoccupation with *virtuality* ("the construction of pictorial spaces that vary with the beholder's real standpoint") and *visibility* ("the ways in which pictures become intelligible in visual space.") In addition to setting up a coherent, sophisticated and very neat terminology for describing these dimensions of art, Davis goes on to show, in a re-analysis of the third dynasty wood reliefs of Hesy at Saqqara, how illusions of depth and effect can be deliberately orchestrated. It is a significant step in understanding how canonical depiction works from a cognitive point of view, as well as a rare glimpse into aspects of Egyptian artistic traditions that are yet to be fully explored.

Vanessa Davies investigates the forms of hieroglyphic signs in 18th dynasty inscriptions at Medinet Habu and Luxor temples in a study that deals with the agentive sources of variation. In this respect it parallels to some extent Chloé Ragazzoli's contribution for texts and scribes. Her micro-observations of monumental palaeography reveal the extent of variation within tradition: attempts to produce a certain sign yield different final results depending on the artist, and a particular artist can also vary his productions from instance to instance. In addition to her conclusions vis-à-vis work organisation, Davies also touches tantalisingly on topics such as the effect of physical environments or even emotional states on the output of artists, and whether the quality of execution of glyphs can be used as an index for the attribution of workmanship to either masters or apprentices. Unfortunately very few of these enticing speculations are provided with definitive illustrations, leaving us with an array of possibilities that await future substantiation. While her general argument against aesthetic judgements of Egyptian workmanship is sound, it remains up for debate whether or not the

"unintentional factors" that Davies discusses—dealt with in other disciplines as *embodiment*, *artistic gesture*, and other terms—should be explored under the already overloaded term 'style.'

The following five papers are dedicated to the study of private tomb decoration and are particularly interested in describing the mechanisms of productivity. In a well-rounded contribution that situates itself within a larger academic landscapes and ranges over a variety of modern and ancient intellectual reference points, **Dimitri Laboury** frames artistic (re)production in terms of creativity. In part 1 he argues that creativity and tradition, rather than representing polar opposites, are codependent aspects of ancient Egyptian artistic practice. With an emphasis on the performative aspects of art, he goes on in part 2 to discuss the much-debated issue of copying. In a series of remarkably precise and systematic analyses of New Kingdom private tomb decoration, Laboury describes the networks of iconographic correspondences between particular scenes and their inspirations. He goes as far as to sketch some of the personal strategies that the artists used in the process of re-composing traditions and concludes that it is here that our search for creativity should take place. Only in part 3 does Laboury reveal *intericonicity* (akin to *intertextuality*) as a conceptual framework "to describe the various possibilities of interrelations between images, taking into account the questions of forms, styles and supports" as well as questions relating to cognitive aspects of artist engagement. In the final part 4, he reflects on emic (ancient Egyptian) concepts of creativity and returns once more to the links between creation and tradition. It is hoped from this contribution that the terminology and the broad approach (cf. Pieke's contribution on *interpicturality*) will make an impact on and gain a certain momentum in Egyptological art history.

A parallel focus on transfer processes is used by **Gabriele Pieke** in her discussion of *interpicturality*. She highlights the centrality of tradition, reuse and reference as basic to creation and historicises the notions of originality and authenticity, noting that the Egyptian perspective did not put the artist at the centre of things. With foci of appropriation, revitalisation and citation, she focuses on rare elements of Old Kingdom tomb decoration, whose reproductions are easier to trace and whose significations are often easier to apprehend. In case studies of the *bat* pendant and lotus flower motifs, Pieke traces the *demo(cra)tisation* processes that characterise such traditions, as well their topographic and chronological spread. A final case study of the Teti cemetery at Saqqara demonstrates the complexities of signification in artistic reproduction, and investigates innovations that were too *avant-garde* or "provocative" to be taken up as widespread traditions, so indicating the conservative nature of tomb representation. Nonetheless, within this conservative framework, Pieke observes the attractiveness of fresh motifs for citation and reformulation. In terms of the mechanisms of creativity, we are dealing both with the combination of different motifs as well as the varying of the forms of motifs themselves.

Tamás Bács is invested in resisting entrenched negative judgements of Ramesside art as baroque or mannerist, unoriginal, repetitive, and essentially reproductive. He takes as a case study the chief draughtsman of Deir el-Medina, Amenhotep, son of the famous scribe Amunnakhte. By comparing the compositions of tombs that Amenhotep worked on with those in tombs that he visited (attested by graffiti left there), Bács implies that the artist had more to contribute to the composition than merely style and execution. This upsets the commonly held Egyptological belief that design was the domain of the patron and opens for new discussion composition as an artist-patron collaboration. Detailed observations of the construction of the tomb of Ramses IX (KV 6) also demonstrate how practices of extracting or abridging were often adaptive solutions to physical architectural problems. Hence the

final decoration of a tomb was the result of practical factors as well as innovatory impulses, and Ramesside creativity is much more complex than previously assumed.

Alexis Den Doncker takes up the question of image 'copies', deploying Laboury's concept of *intericonicity* to capture—rather than unidirectional vectors from original to copy—the relationships between the two. Via several case studies of 18th dynasty private tombs, Den Doncker shows in great detail how aspects of copying—particularly the conceptual layout and architectural design—can be motivated by prestige to different ends: some tomb owners present themselves as 'standing in' the socio-professional sphere of a superior or more well respected member of the community in order to maximise social status; others present themselves as 'standing out' in relation to their predecessors in a process Den Doncker characterises, rather than copy, as emulation: "surpassing by means of copying." He shows in the process how ideas—and in particular images—which were originally deployed for a particular purpose (*e.g.* Amenemheb's images as illustration of actual professional achievements) could be received and repurposed according to different needs (*e.g.* Pehsukher's redeployment of the images of his superior Amenemheb as illustrations of an idealised profession). Den Doncker's analysis also reveals mechanisms of the *demo(cra)tisation* of culture: people at each step in the hierarchy have attempted to 'stand in' with their superiors, beginning with royalty and passing traditions progressively, over time, down the line.

In terms of this volume, Den Doncker's work shows how traditions often begin and are continued not out of any abstract sense of tradition, but according to very punctual and social-professional functions/reasons. From this editor's Peircean semiotic perspective, Den Doncker points to the much-neglected (social) indexical layer of signification in tomb decoration, redressing a much-needed imbalance previously favouring the iconic (= the extent to which it re-presents aspects of reality) and symbolic (= conventionalised) aspects of their signification. The inclusion of particular images only makes sense in the context of their webs of associations with and references to other tombs; they are thus subject to an interpretive multivalence. Den Doncker shows an extraordinary degree of understanding of the emic (what the Egyptians themselves intended) appreciation of these tombs.

Lubica Hudáková offers an accurate and comprehensive treatment of the tradition of a particular tomb scene over its life between the Old and Middle Kingdoms: the *mꜣꜣ*-scene, in which the tomb owner is depicted overseeing agricultural or other activities. She presents an exhaustive list of Middle Kingdom *mꜣꜣ*-scenes attested in mostly middle and upper Egypt and gives excellent microanalysis of scenes, tracking the productive nature of the tradition: the Egyptians did not simply reproduce Old Kingdom representations, but 'modernised' hairstyles and clothing, played with variations in combinations of accessories, and introduced new poses. Minor figures in particular were open to creative tinkering, and over time there was a substantial increase in the representation of women among these figures. Regionalism is also apparent, but the evidence is provincial and there is a lack of corresponding evidence from cultural centres, making transmission difficult or impossible to trace accurately. Hudáková wisely leaves open the question of whether changes in artistic representation reflect wider socio-cultural changes.

Rounding off this section, **Campbell Price** examines the motivations for deploying archaistic styles in Egyptian statuary of the 25th and 26th dynasties. He characterises the (Karnak) temple environment in which statues of nobles were erected as competitive for audience engagement (the living, dead, and the gods), and suggests that archaism is effective in this regard because it is ostentatious. Via a case study of the statue of Petamenope, Price observes that the goals of archaism were often to "vaunt access to skilled labour and connoisseurship of past motifs": Petamenope

designed and commissioned his own statues, and had personal knowledge of old repertoires and redeployed them in overt emulations. Price also points out the interpretive multivalence of such archaisms: Petamenope's standing statue recalls Middle Kingdom styles and 18th dynasty emulations of them, and reference could have been intended to similar 18th dynasty statues—for example that of Amenhotep son of Hapu—that were also standing within the Karnak precinct at this time. The conclusions are analogous to those of Den Doncker: Petamenophis' use of archaism can be interpreted as an attempt to both 'stand in' and 'stand out.'

Section 3: artefact

The three papers in this section offer excellent and insightful commentary on traditions with a more material focus. The first treats the concept of a *skeuomorph*, a concept that can be defined in a number of ways, but that usually refers to the transposition of features from one medium to another: where the feature plays a structurally functional role in the original medium, it is carried over to play an aesthetic role in the new medium. **Valérie Angenot** explores the mechanisms, reasons and purposes for such phenomena via a range of case studies. She looks at the artistic imitation of wood on Ramesside shabti boxes and suggests a range of significations and implications, among them issues of cost (*e.g.* cheaper to imitate wood rather than acquire the genuine article) and prestige. She also discusses the *petrification* or *statuification* of architectural elements; that they preserve the semiotic features of sacredness of their models, as is the case with much of ancient Egyptian temple and tomb architecture. She goes on to discuss the notion of *simulacrum* as the Egyptians might have conceived of it, concluding that the semiotic status of skeuomorphs was one of bringing to life what was represented: "the simulacrum was as valid as its model." Skeuomorphism is potentially a powerful tool for the description of some of the basic aesthetic principles of ancient Egyptian representation. Angenot has shown how the Egyptians' use of the artistic techniques of reproducing an object in another medium can be interpretively multivalent: as a mark of prestige, of authenticity, to maintain habits of usage, or even, on deeper levels, to "maintain the balance of the universe" by preserving the prototypical forms of the past.

An interest in the study of tradition as convention is the theme of **Lucie Jirásková**'s paper. She focuses on the slow shifts in the forms and meanings of material culture that happen over the *longue durée*, of which the Egyptian practitioners of traditions may themselves have been unaware. Her case study is the production of model stone vessels at Abusir in the Old Kingdom: she introduces the evidence for the royal cemetery and the cemetery of Abusir South, providing detailed representations (photos and line drawings) of the vessel assemblages. In outlining the rise, peak, and fall of the tradition, she discusses: the uses of the sets of vessels (Opening of the Mouth ceremony); changes in the types of vessels included in a set; the workmanship, drawing conclusions about the craftsmen and workshops involved; and the implications for our interpretations of social history. Importantly, Jirásková points out how changes accumulated in the replication of artefacts could result in 'new' artefacts. She concludes that the evidence from the late Old Kingdom—the fact that vessel forms had become indistinct and indistinguishable from each other—indicates that the tradition had departed a long way from its original meaning, and that the significance of the objects no longer held a strong relationship to their material forms. The paper leaves us wondering to what extent the inclusion of these model vessels in burial assemblages was by pure momentum of tradition.

A similar approach characterises **Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo**'s comprehensive treatment of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, a tradition in wood that stretches from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period and beyond. Rindi Nuzzolo introduces a corpus of 44 figures deriving from Akhmim and currently situated in various museums around the world. He describes the physical morphologies and decoration of the figures, with illustrations and photographs, and documents the different kinds of inscribed texts and their variations. Outlining the main features of the Akmimic tradition, he ties them to concepts and religious identities specific to that location, linking them also to features of coffin production at that place during the Ptolemaic period. Conclusions are also drawn about their manufacture, for example that they were mass-produced, or at least made in advance and left blank for the names and texts of potential clients. The most significant interpretation of the paper is the addition to existing typologies of the geographic dimension. In terms of (re)production, Rindi Nuzzolo shows how variations can be geographically based, as well as shaped by the concepts and religious identities specific to that location.

Section 4: traditions across media

In this section are collected contributions which discuss traditions that span or traverse different media, with a persistent theme of the monumental. Each makes a very unique and hopefully important contribution to the study of monumental traditions. Although studying monumental texts and images is sometimes seen as Egyptologically passé, it is only now and in studies like those below that we are beginning to see the particular significations of monuments, their resonances in other arts and the interactions in which they participated. This is an especially exciting section in the sense that we are often dealing with particularly creative uses of culture.

Pascal Vernus offers an important contribution in his treatment of sacralised texts, a category that is emically defined, according ancient Egyptian religious ideas, in particular texts which relate to the creation. He differentiates two categories of text: those reflecting the gods' (and hence the creator's) own words, and texts produced by humans that attempt to integrate significant collective events (via royal monuments and inscriptions) and individuals (via tombs and votive monuments) into the "current state of creation." Vernus goes on to discuss how such texts are made sacred/sacralised, primarily focusing on overt marking: stone support, hieroglyphic script, representations of the divine, language of the primordial time (*égyptien de tradition*), and so forth. Via a range of examples, he shows how different combinations of markers lead to varying degrees of sacredness and are thus made "accretions to the creation." In relation to (re)productivity, two trends are outined: a *reproductive trend*, in which "past basically functions as prototype," but is nonetheless inevitably (albeit secondarily) influenced by contemporary concerns; and a *productive trend*, in which contemporary concerns are the "dominating attractor" and past models are only appealed to secondarily. Vernus goes on to discuss the ancient Egyptian scribal ethic based on analysis of the scribal and linguistic habits of reproductions. He discusses "punctual modernisation" of texts as well as systematic editorial policies and their relation to (re)productive *égyptien de tradition* and concludes that, in some contexts, reproductivity did not involve verbatim copying. For productive texts, he discusses how they may include reproduced elements, and he focuses particularly on what he calls "stage switching or alternation" of language, a situation that plays on a situation of linguistic diglossia. In the context of this volume, Vernus' paper offers excellent food for thought for reflection on the material existence of

ancient Egyptian texts and the semiotic role of the physical support in the interpretation of their significance.

The second paper in this section is my own (**Todd Gillen**), in which I attempt to foreground the processes of productivity: in dealing with the Triumph Scene—the well-known depiction in which an anthropomorphic deity offers the khepesh sword to the king while the latter smites enemies—, I focus on its emergence as a strong Ramesside tradition at Thebes. More generally, I use it as a case study for illustrating some principles of the way that traditions are formed and come to be consolidated. I assemble the monumental Theban replications of the tradition and propose a way of diagramming this productive tradition that is analogous to the stemmata produced for reproductive traditions. In particular, I am interested in the *fittingness* to (conforming to or diverging from) a generic norm. In part 2, I identify the Triumph Scene as a *thing* in its various aspects: textual, pictorial, material. I attempt to sketch broadly its conditions of possibility, beginning with notes on its larger semiotic contexts and going on to discuss the socio-cultural practices to which the Triumph Scene refers and on which it relies for its meanings. Part 3 handles conceptual precursors to the Ramesside Tradition, while in part 4 I concentrate on the texts of the Triumph Scene: the speech of the god. I locate the Triumph Scene of Seti I on the North Wall of the Hypostyle Hall (Karnak) at the genesis of the Ramesside tradition, and meticulously trace the various monumental inspirations on which it directly draws for its composition. Reviewing the literature as I go, I not only lay out the material comprehensively for the first time and clear up a number of Egyptological misconceptions, but I also go further in offering suggestions for the suitability of those particular selections. What results is, I hope, a stimulating new 'take' on the emergence of traditions and their Egyptological treatment.

Hana Navratilova continues the theme of reception of monumental texts in her discussion of visitors' graffiti during the 18th dynasty. She reviews the nature of the data, giving as a background the Thutmoside interest in the past (both *Traditions-* and *Geschichtsbewusstsein*), in particular in relation to royal funerary temple architecture. One of the foci of the paper is to determine what we can learn about the motivations for visitors' graffiti: was it aesthetic appreciation, pure interest in past traditions, or research visits by architects and artists? Her overview of the ways in which knowledge of texts, scenes and architecture was transmitted only concludes that much "remains elusive." In Navratilova's more concrete conclusions, she draws fascinating links between the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom architectural and textual material and attempts to establish whether Theban monuments were inspired by those at Memphis. Matching the dates on Memphite graffiti with known dates of building activity in Thebes results in some interesting correlations that speak in favour of her theory. What is clear is that the observed visits and artistic/architectual borrowings were not opportunistic (*i.e.* whatever was accessible) or coincidental. The Thutmosides had particular interests (*e.g.* Senwosret III) and this emerges in their selections. The work has potential for revealing the transmission of monumental forms across dynasties and the resonance of monumental traditions in creative spheres more generally.

Éva Liptay's treatment of Third Intermediate Period traditions traverses royal and non-royal traditions between papyrus and tomb wall. Via three detailed case studies, she gives the impression that each motif of a wall painting, funerary papyrus or sarcophagus has its own unique history, and by tracing the occurrences of each motif we can determine that any entire papyrus or tomb composition is comprised of a myriad of different sources, each with their own significance. Such borrowings are often reinterpreted, and have specific social indexical significations that are contingent on their source. It shows what a period of artistic and conceptual *mélange* the Third Intermediate Period was and gives us some hints as to the complexity of their relationship with their own past. Liptay is also

sensitive to its topographic dependence, with Thebes being a major source, the motifs of particularly its Ramesside tombs reappearing in reinterpreted forms in Tanis and Memphis, among other places. While she traces non-royal borrowings of royal motifs—the sort of social vector of replication that is described as *demo(cra)tisation*—she also gives evidence for the rarer creation of royal motifs based on borrowings from non-royal contexts. Liptay also elucidates the reasons for the shift in supports: the shifting of the focus of ritual space from tomb to coffin; the interconnection and overlapping of temple and funerary rituals and sharing of iconographic and textual material. She locates the source of this creative collage process as originating not among artists or artisans but among "the highest ranking members of the 21st dynasty Theban clergy of Amun."

The final paper in this section is **Andreas Dorn**'s study of the multivalent *ỉrỉ.n* formula in the Deir el Medina community of the 19th and 20th dynasties. In this nuanced analysis, Dorn explores the various uses of the formula and traces the expansion of its significations over time. On stelae, he remarks its signature-like character and observes its use as a donation mark, as an acting instruction, and as an image substitute. On other supports (tomb decoration, drawing ostraca, text ostraca and papyri), the uses are even more varied and Dorn highlights the context dependence of its meanings. Of particular interest is its use in graffiti (an appendix gives a full list of attestations of the *ỉrỉ.n* PN-formula in graffiti of Western Thebes): although its significations become difficult to disentangle clearly, Dorn observes that it is used by village leaders and is often linked with exceptional content or events (*e.g.* connection with the vizier). In relation to literary texts, its potential scope of reference is especially diverse, and Dorn discusses the complications with particular reference to the debate on pseudepigraphs, authors, copyists and papyrus owners. In the context of (re)production, this paper traces the extension of a tradition which originated in the stela/donation context into an array of increasingly nuanced environments, and so represents the quintessence of what this volume attempts to apprehend.

Final thoughts

If I can field one broad criticism of the volume it is the general dearth of conceptual sophistication. With a few obvious exceptions, there is little mention—or profitable use made—of theoretical, conceptual, or methodological reference points that are central to the study of tradition in other fields. Where, for example, were the citations of art historical takes on survival such as Aby Warburg's *Nachleben*?[2] What of significant conceptual frameworks closer to home, such as offered by Whitney Davis' treatise *Replications: Archaeology, Art History, Psychoanalysis*, in which he tries to account in a sophisticated way for the kinds of reproductions that fill this volume? In the numerous discussions of artists, why wasn't Ernst Gombrich mentioned, an art historian (among many) who said it all with his famous introduction to *The Story of Art*: "There really is no such thing as Art. There are only artists."[3]

In the more general domain of culture, the classic volume edited by Hobsbawm and Granger on the *Invention of Tradition* is only mentioned once (in a footnote) in the whole volume, and the role of memory in our account of traditions—along with Assmann's influential work on cultural and collective memory—has slipped almost completely off the radar. And what about biological modeling of cultural transmission—cultural phylogenies, reticulation and the like—, and Richard Dawkins'

2. Didi-Huberman 2003.
3. Gombrich 1950.

concept of the *meme*,[4] which has found the public spotlight and could have been an excellent point of departure for almost any of the contributions in this volume? Related is the very fertile idea from evolution studies—touched on by Valérie Angenot—of cultural *exaptation*: something that originally served a certain function comes over time to be co-opted for another.[5] We might take our lead from parallel processes in linguistics which have been labelled *refunctionalisation*.[6] Much could be made of this, with a little work.

For the study of text, I have offered my own adaptation of the stemmatic method tailored to productive traditions and taking into account material aspects of the tradition. Yet the general impression is a lack of Egyptological interest in the emergence of complex cultural forms: take for example the unique glimpses that the evidence from ancient Egypt offers us into the formation of literature, a classic and classical subject of study. I am thinking here of Todorov and the *Origin of Genres*, and of Yuri Lotman and his *Ausgangstyp* (the idea that literature stems from non-literary text types), signalled by Assmann[7] and not really deeply explored by Egyptologists. Scholars in other fields discussing such 'big' issues seem unaware of the Egyptian evidence,[8] and it seems to me that it could have a significant impact on the topic. In short, analyses of the emergence of literature in Egypt could historicise the general topic in a unique way, changing the face of literature studies!

I could go on but the main point is this: Egyptologists are not availing themselves of the conceptual richness of a broad academic landscape and as a consequence struggle to frame their topics and their studies in ways relevant to today's academic and social concerns. If, as Egyptologists, we want to be germane to wider academic pursuits, attractive to funding bodies, and interesting to the general public, then we have to engage current issues, interests and problems. We have to read more widely and discover what we can add to the discussion.

It was an aim of the *(Re)productive Traditions* conference and this volume to investigate common parameters for talking about the production of material, artistic and textual culture in ancient Egypt. However, rather than a collaborative meditation on the nature of tradition(s), cultural transmission and historical methodologies, the result is mostly a hotchpotch of conceptually diverse investigations on even more diverse subject matters. I feel that while the volume contains valuable and important individual contributions, little more than the sum of its parts can be gleaned. My suggestion of *(re)production* as a common point of reference—although featuring consistently among the papers—has remained elusively multivalent, and the use of the term in a wide range of senses suggests a kind of conceptual opportunism among contributors. Nonetheless in the time between the conference and this publication, I have noticed the phrase 'reproductive tradition' appear in several papers[9] as well as woven into the premise of the 5th International Congress for Young Egyptologists (ICYE). I suppose from these small indications that it has found a certain resonance in Egyptology and I hope at the very least that it inspires new ways of thinking about the evidence.

4. Dawkins 1976.
5. Gould & Vrba 1982.
6. For the first application of exaptation in linguistics: Lass 1990.
7. Assmann 1999: 2.
8. Anecdotally, though importantly, I'm sure I'm not the only Egyptologist who is a little tired of hearing the history of nearly everything traced back uniquely to classical (ancient Greek and Roman) cultures.
9. *E.g.* Vernus 2016.

If there is a flip side to the Egyptological conceptual conservatism, it is the enthusiasm people have demonstrated for this topic. Tradition continues to be a vital point of contact for diverse approaches to the past and a convenient umbrella term for cultural continuity in a variety of domains. Such common reference points are rare in a field increasingly fractured by progressive specialisation, and this volume demonstrates a willingness to collaborate that I hope will persist in future Egyptological endeavours.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank various funding bodies for their financial support: the Fonds Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (FNRS), the Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, and the Patrimoine de l'Université de Liège. I also thank warmly Jean Winand, Dimitri Laboury, the members of the Ramsès project, and my many and varied friends in Liège for their academic, administrative, and personal support in the realisation of the conference and this volume. A special thanks goes out to Stéphane Polis, who was and is the go-to man for guidance, for solving logistics problems, for all kinds of intellectual and pop-culture discussions, and—when it's needed—for a Karmeliet.

Melbourne, 29th of September, 2016

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(Re)productive traditions in Ancient Egypt

Some considerations with a particular focus on literature and language(s)*

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1. INTRODUCTION

The starting points of this paper are the words that are at the core of this conference: tradition, productive and reproductive. What do they mean for Egyptologists and, more broadly, to scholars in ancient history? What did they mean for the ancient Egyptians?

Tradition and the respect for tradition were deeply rooted in Egyptian civilisation. For most Egyptians, tradition meant reproducing what has been done before, ideally what has always been done since the beginning of time, what they called the *zp tpj* "the first time". This of course is common knowledge in Egyptology, and does not need special emphasis. A good illustration of this is a scene that has often been discussed, coming from the Theban tomb of Paser, who was a vizier during the reign of Seti I.

Fig. 1 (after Assmann 1992: 45).

* It is my pleasure to warmly thank Todd Gillen for his suggestions and commentary, and for improving my English. I am also indebted to Stéphane Polis who discussed with me some aspects of this paper, and to the anonymous reviewer for his/her comments.

Paser is depicted inspecting a workshop, where he is presented with a statue of the king. In the accompanying text, Paser praises the sculptor for conforming himself to the ancient way of making statues, stressing the fact that this is in accordance with what the King wishes:

> May Ptah praise you, sculptor. How beautiful is this statue of the Lord you have done! Let's do it the ancient way (*jmy ḫpr⸗f mj p3 jzy*), as One says in the palace. (K*RI* I, 293.11–13)

In his response, the sculptor makes an explicit relation between his style and the teaching of Paser:

> His Majesty is pleased with all that comes from your mouth; you are the eyes of the King of Upper Egypt and the ears of the King of Lower Egypt, the faithful confidant of his Lord. You open the mind of every craftsman; your teaching (*sb3j.t*) circulates in the workshops. (K*RI* I, 293.15–16)

In those times that followed the Amarna period, this scene clearly emphasised continuity with the past. The fact that the statue itself, as it is depicted, had, very obviously, no chance to pass for a product of the Old or Middle Kingdom was not seen as a contradiction in the discourse of the two men.

Examples like this one could very easily be multiplied. They can be contrasted with another well-known document, the opening sentences of the Words of Khakheperreseneb, a literary text that was probably composed at the earliest around the end of the 12th dynasty (or somewhere in the SIP, if not later), that is roughly half a millennium before Paser's discourse. In the prolegomenon of his teaching, Khakheperreseneb, in a manner that will remain exceptional in Egyptian literature, laments himself for not being able to find something new, to create new sentences devoid, as he says, of repetitions:

> If I had unknown expressions, original phrases made with new words that are no longer over, that are **devoid of repetitions**, without sentences that have been orally transmitted, spoken by the ancestors.
>
> I want to clear my mind from what is inside, breaking loose with anybody who has already spoken, because, by nature, **what has been said can be said again** […].

One will note that Khakheperreseneb does not want *wḥmw* "repetitions," which sharply contrasts with Paser, who was vizier under a king who, like Amenemhat I, had *wḥm msw.t* in his titulary. Now returning to Khakheperreseneb's text, what is the use, he says, of speaking if it means repeating what has already been said, or giving the opportunity for those who will come after to repeat what has been said?

> Someone who speaks does not speak so that somebody who will speak can speak, so that someone else can find something to say!
> One does not speak for a discourse that will come thereafter!

These of course constitute magnificent 'flowers of rhetoric.' In simple words, and very much in tune with the mood of our times, one can say that Khakheperreseneb wanted to be original. This clearly marks an intentional rupture with the past. Khakheperreseneb doubtlessly succeeded with his prologue, which remains unparalleled in Egyptian literature, but he definitely failed if one looks at the second part, the teaching itself, which carefully and somewhat aimlessly reproduces traditional phraseology.

2. TRADITION

When speaking of tradition, one generally has in mind a source and one or several copies. Copies imply chronology, some depth of time. If, as is often the case, there are multiple copies, these can be related to the source in different ways. The next figure is an imaginary example, which could easily pass for a traditional stemma, Lachmann's type, of a literary text.[1] From such figures, one is inclined to draw some conclusions that are forced upon us, so to say, by their very semiotic power.

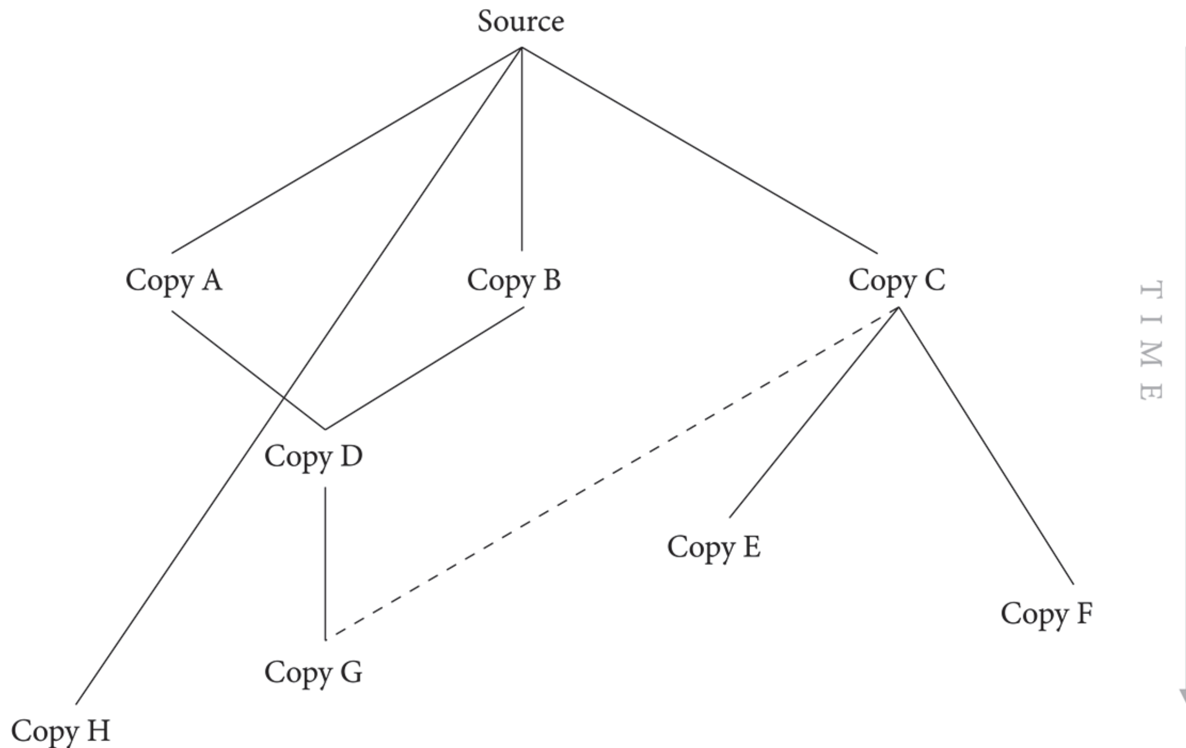

Fig. 2. Imaginary stemma for a literary text.

If a text is a copy of a copy, it will be said to be inferior to its model: this is clearly the case for copies E and F. If two copies are linked to the same node, the older copy will be considered better than the younger one: this is the case of copy H as compared with copies A B and C. If a copy is the product of two different models—this is the case for D in my example—, it cannot be superior to either of its models. Of course, it will reveal itself to be of great interest if one of its models is missing. The case of G is more delicate to handle. As a copy of D, it cannot be of any help for establishing the Source, except for the fact that, having been influenced by C—this is what is called an interpolation in the tradition (represented here with a dotted line)—, it can end up being the only manuscript that preserves some original readings if C has been lost.

All of this makes sense only if there is one and only one original (*Ur-Text*). I shall have to come back to this later in my paper, but I have to stress immediately that this conception has been challenged in other scholarly circles outside Egyptology, at least as regards literature.

As suggested in the conference's title, tradition can be productive or reproductive. By *reproductive*, some qualifications immediately come to mind, like faithful respect of the source, conservatism, immutability, canonisation and the like. To this, one can oppose *productive* with its

1. See Winand 2013a, with relevant bibliography.

commonly associated characteristics like change, adaptation, innovation, and freedom.[2] All this certainly has some value to a certain degree, but it lacks terminological precision. I here propose the following model for analysing different types of relations between data from different times belonging to any cultural domain (literature, art, language, administration). The first type (I) is very simple: let's consider four cultural objects arranged chronologically, without any type of link between them. They are obviously completely outside any kind of tradition. Thus [a] is different from [b], which is different from [c], which is different from [d].

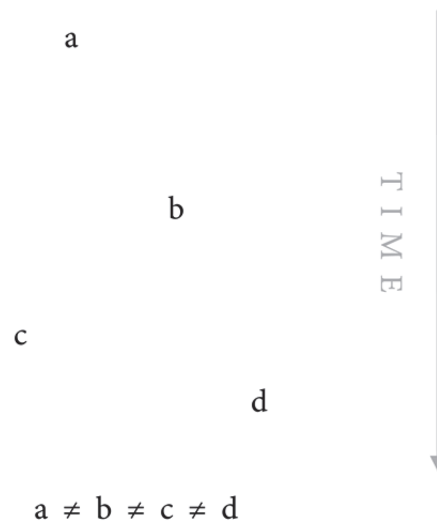

Fig. 3. Type I: outside tradition.

Type II illustrates what happens in a *reproductive* tradition: the objects are *consciously* linked to one another—I mean there is a conscious attempt at emulating what has been done before (this is suggested in the graph by the arrows repeatedly going back to the previous stage). The end-line product of course will never be an exact copy of the original, but all the objects that stand in the tradition consciously share a common pattern and a common heritage. In logical terms, one can say that [a'''] is more or less equal to [a], and that all the objects along the line, from [a] to [a'''] belong to the same class A. In some specific circumstances, a reproductive tradition can become completely frozen, leading to a state of canonisation, a situation that can be observed in religious texts, but also in literature, where canonisation can become a synonym of Classics in the sense of *Belles Lettres*, a quality that has often been associated with the school system.[3] In this case, a=a'''.

2. See also Winand forthcoming b.

3. On canonisation, see Vernus 2016, with relevant literature.

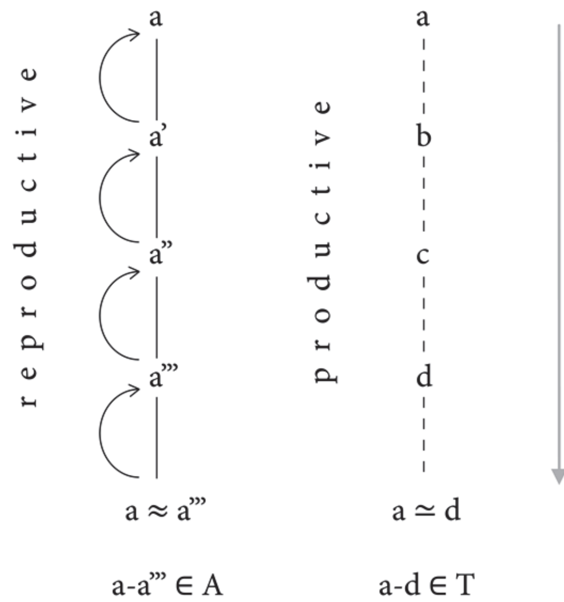

Fig. 4. Reproductive (type II) and productive (type III) traditions.

In a *productive* tradition (type III), the objects are of course interrelated, but there is no systematic reflexive return to the preceding phase(s). Thus [a] is not the same as [b], but is more or less in line with [b], and so on. Of course, all the objects along the line are part of T, which stands here for a shared tradition.

A productive tradition can be accommodated to many kinds of models. For instance, a tradition can be the source model of products that are not ultimately interrelated (type IIIa). In such models, the influence of the tradition can be more or less strongly felt (this is suggested in the figure by the relative thickness of the lines). Finally, a new production can be influenced by different traditions. This is represented in the second diagram, where [a] is under the combined influence of T^1 and T^2 (type IIIb).

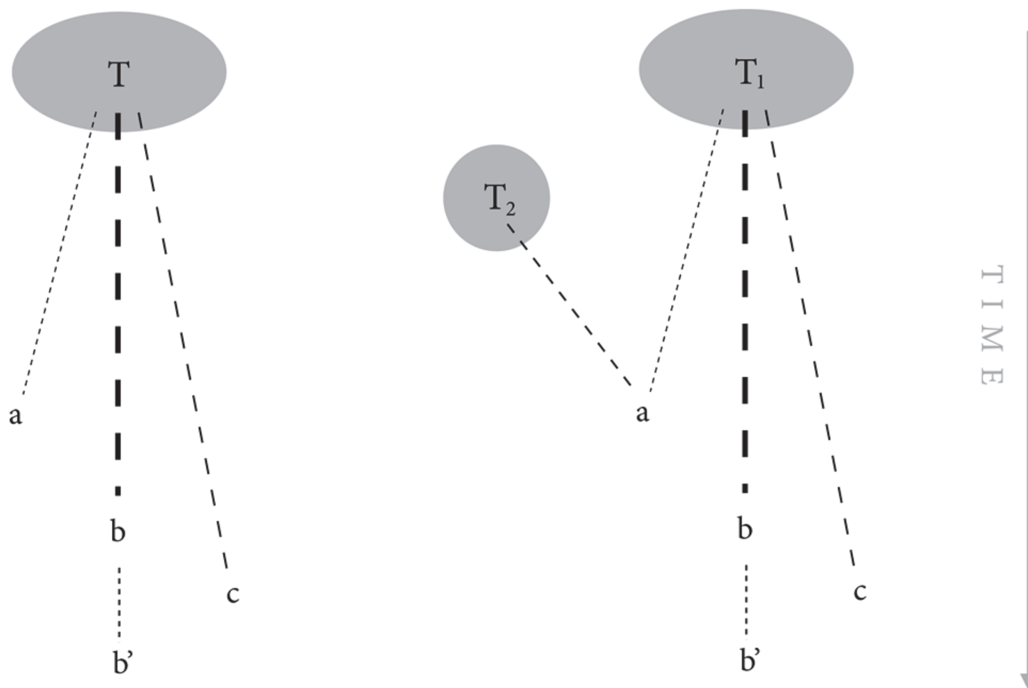

Fig. 5. Different kinds of productive traditions (type IIIa and type IIIb).

3. CHANGES IN REPRODUCTIVE TRADITIONS

After this terminological parenthesis, I come back to the qualities that usually help define the two main types of tradition. The definitions that are commonly attached to the labels ‘productive’ and ‘reproductive’ are probably true prototypically, but there are more than nuances. To start with, and very obviously, changes are not unequivocally the sign of a productive tradition.

For instance, the scribe who made the copy of *Sinuhe* known as B3 wrote *nfr.ḫr=k* instead of the adjectival predicate (*nfr tw*), which is the *lectio* of the two main branches of the tradition:

1	B R	*nfr ṯw ḥnꜥ=j*	
	B3	*nfr.ḫr=k ḥnꜥ=j*	
	AOS Cl	*nfr ṯw ꜥꜣ, wnn=k ḥnꜥ=j*	(Sin., B 31)

In this particular case, it is difficult to analyse *nfr.ḫr=k* as a mere corruption of the text, as happens so often in any textual transmission. There is something more. First of all, *nfr.ḫr=k* does not seem out of place from a semantic point of view: given what comes just before, a contingent tense suits the context very well. The problem rather is that a *sḏm.ḫr=f* form for opening a new statement is not attested in the Middle Kingdom. Thus I would be very much tempted to connect it with the practice of the New Kingdom scribes who deliberately enriched their texts by employing patterns that had for them a distinct Middle Egyptian flavour, although being sometimes at odds with the grammar of the Middle Kingdom. With this in mind, it would thus be simplistic to interpret this *lectio* as a case of hypercorrection.

Changes are thus perfectly natural in any reproductive tradition.[4] In the transmission of texts, one can at least single out the following cases:

- the natural mistakes that unavoidably occur in any process of copying;
- the corrections made by the scribes who felt entitled to do so for whatever reason; most of the time, the scribes faced problems in understanding their model (the model could be materially altered;[5] its language or vocabulary could also be difficult to understand); sometimes, the scribes thought they knew better and corrected the text accordingly, in order to re-establish what they believed was the original state;
- it is not exceptional to find glosses appended to the text. Numerous examples of this occur in religious and scientific texts. What is less common in literary texts is to have glosses that managed to find their way into the text (see the example below);
- all kind of interpolations are of course possible; these can be internal, that is, they can stay within a given textual tradition as in my invented stemma (fig. 2); but they can also be external, having their source in another tradition (as in my Type IIIb, fig. 5);
- one must also take into account what I here call adaptations to new linguistic standards, which, in its most radical form, can end up in a ‘translation’;[6]

4. See also the contributions of C. Ragazzoli and D. Werning in this volume.

5. *Cf.* the mention *gm wš* (“found destroyed/lacking”) that is sometimes found in copies of religious texts. On the ability of the learned scribe to fill in lacunae, see Eyre 2013: 337.

6. A topical example remains the Book of Driving Away Apophis, which is known in two versions, one in *Égyptien de tradition*, the other in a Late Egyptian idiom very close to Demotic: see Vernus 1990.

- finally, there are deliberate elaborations on a previous text, but as these belong to the category of productive traditions, they will be discussed in the next section.

All the possibilities that have been listed here can unfortunately not be illustrated for lack of space. I limit myself to an example of how a gloss can surreptitiously slip into a text, and become part of it. Like most of my examples in this section, it comes from the *Tale of Sinuhe* (B 7):

2	B	*n ḏd⸗j ꜥnḫ r-sꜣ⸗f*
	R	*n ḏd⸗j ꜥnḫ r-sꜣ nn*
	AOS	*n ḏd.n⸗j ꜥnḫ r-sꜣ pfꜣ nṯr pn mnḫ*
	C	*n ḏd(⸗j) ꜥnḫ sꜣ pfꜣ nṯr pn mnḫ*
	DM3	*n ḏd.n(⸗j)* [ ]
	G	[*nṯr*] *pn mnḫ*

This passage stands at the beginning of the tale: Sinuhe tells for the first time why he chose to leave the expedition. He was saying to himself that there will be no life after. But after what? The tradition here splits: in B, we can read *r-sꜣ⸗f*, and in R, *r-sꜣ nn*, that is "after him" vs. "after this." Both readings of course make sense: after him, that is after the king, Amenemhet I; or after that, that is after the king's death. It will most probably remain impossible to decide which is the best reading, but as I shall suggest later in my paper there is every reason for considering this issue as pointless. When the recension of the 18th dynasty took place, which was to be the starting point of the Ramesside tradition,[7] the scribes opted for *r-sꜣ⸗f*, that is the *lectio* of B, which they changed into *r-sꜣ pfꜣ*. But they must have known the reading of R. They added, perhaps in the margins or more probably between the lines, a gloss, *nṯr pn mnḫ* "this excellent god," making it clear that *⸗f* was pointing to the king. Later on, this gloss made its way into the text.[8] As already noted, the suffix pronoun *⸗f* was replaced by a more fleshy *pfꜣ*, which is another signature of the New Kingdom scribes, although sporadically attested in the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom, but conspicuously absent in *Sinuhe*.[9] The diagram below shows how I understand the story of the text for this passage:[10]

7. On this, see Winand 2013a.

8. This could also be related to the well-known fact that the masculine was used in Late Egyptian for expressing the neuter; *cf. e.g.* the last part of ex. 4 (*ḥr-sꜣ⸗f*).

9. See Winand 2013a.

10. For the principles underlying this stemma, see Winand 2013a.

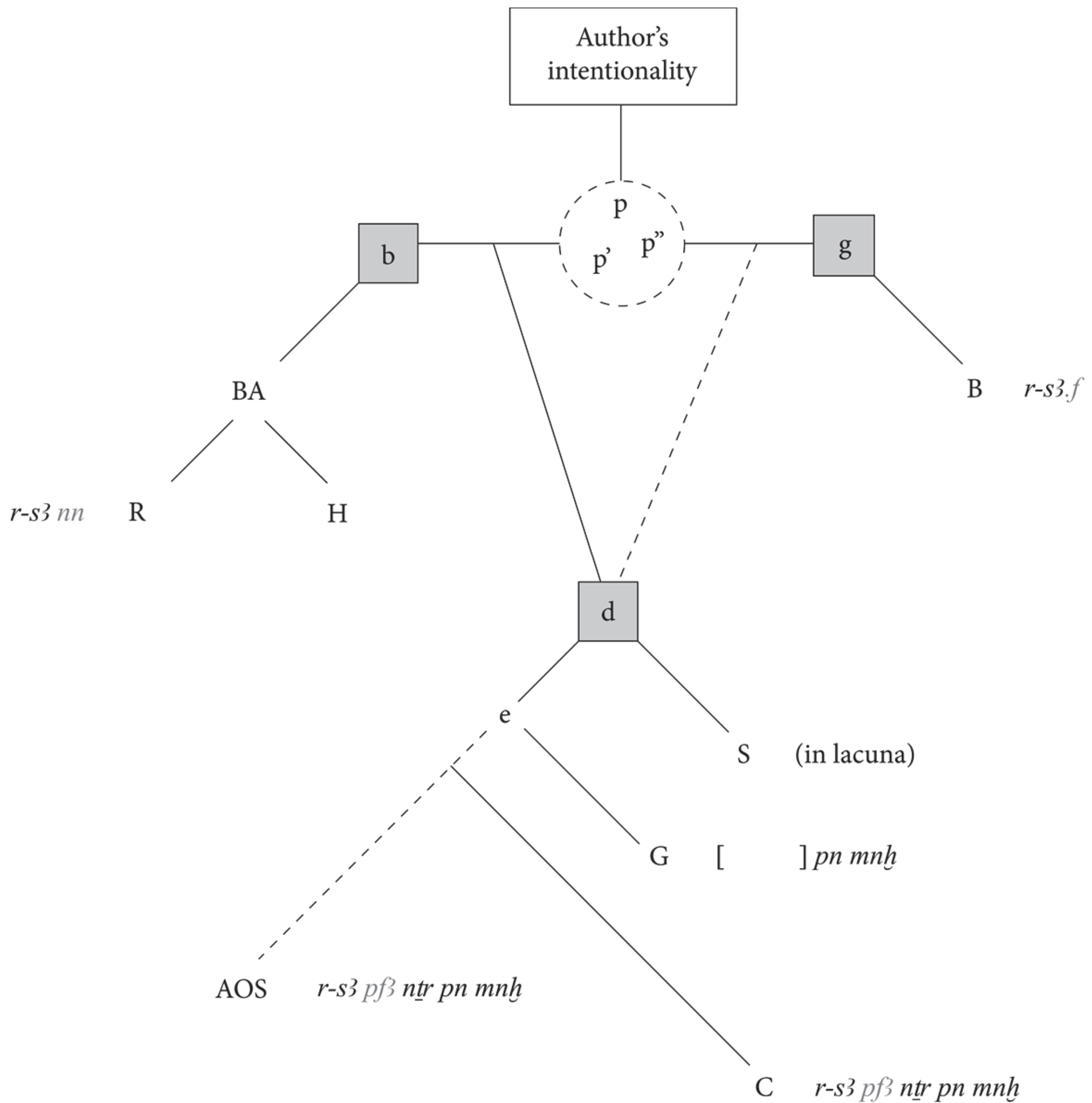

Fig. 6. Stemma of Sinuhe B 7.

4. CHANGES IN PRODUCTIVE TRADITIONS

If we now consider what is meant by a productive tradition, it should be clearly stated from the outset that it does not mean outside the tradition. A productive tradition implies a tension, a dialogue, a dialectic process between old and new (see *supra*, § 2). Thus the difference between a productive tradition and a reproductive one that makes some changes lies in the degree of consciousness. As a consequence, a tradition where changes are in fact to be interpreted as corrections, as a means to restore the past to its pristine state, even if they are completely off the mark, is not, even remotely, a productive tradition.

Egyptian literature provides us with many examples of being productive and innovative while staying within the general frame of the tradition.[11] Here are some general ideas that would each

11. See Vernus 1995.

deserve further elaboration. I am here considering the formal aspects, leaving aside changes that can happen in the history of concepts and ideas, something that vividly manifests itself in wisdom literature, to take one well-known example. As one can easily guess, there are many ways to be productive. With no particular hierarchy, one can cite:

- intertextuality;
- citations;
- using or transgressing a genre for some other purpose (for instance, framing *Sinuhe* as an autobiography, the *Tale of Woe* as a letter, or *Wenamun* as an administrative report). It would seem that the Egyptians were quite successful in this, for Egyptologists for a long time resisted in taking *Wenamun* as a literary piece, while some once believed that one day the tomb of Sinuhe would be discovered with the tale of his life written on the wall;
- shifting from one register to another.[12] In some cases, this is very close to what is called a pastiche in literary studies;
- deliberately choosing an old fashioned word, using a foreign word when there are equivalents in Egyptian (a case that is well illustrated in literary Late Egyptian),[13] or creating new words are some ways of transgressing the tradition;
- The same can be said about the virtually limitless potentialities of the hieroglyphic script, a trend that culminates in the temple inscriptions of Graeco-Roman times.

For lack of space, I limit myself here to a few remarks on the first two points.

4.1. *Intertextuality*

As I have shown elsewhere,[14] proving a case of intertextuality and, more specifically, showing its vectoriality between two interrelated pieces of work is sometimes—and, for ancient and remote civilisations, most often—an impossible task.[15] Considering the complex relations between *Sinuhe* B 252–253 and the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, starting first with v. 136–137, before taking into account v. 46–47, 74–76, 86–87, and 161, I identified four possible hypotheses to explain such an intricate relationship between the two poems (here repeated for the sake of convenience):

- the text of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* influenced the author of *Sinuhe*;
- the text of *Sinuhe* influenced the author of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*;
- *Sinuhe* and the *Shipwrecked Sailor* have the same author;
- the text of *Sinuhe* influenced the author of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, and the *Shipwrecked Sailor* in turn had an influence on the Ramesside manuscripts of *Sinuhe* by way of intertextuality.[16]

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12. This can, to a certain extent, be interpreted as a mark (of course, not an obligatory one) of literature. The *Tale of Sinuhe* probably constitutes a climactic achievement in this respect, with narrative sections, dialogues, hymns, a royal decree and a letter.
13. See Winand forthcoming a.
14. See Winand 2013a.
15. On intertextuality in ancient Egyptian texts, see Loprieno 1996: 51–52.
16. This could be an indication that the *Shipwrecked Sailor* was still known in the New Kingdom. The reception of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* after the Middle Kingdom is difficult to assert properly. To start with, the *Shipwrecked Sailor* is

In my Leiden paper, I concluded by stating that the last solution had my preference, probably (but not only) because of its aesthetic and cultural implications, adding that one should perhaps also consider the possibility, although very unlikely in my opinion (and unnecessarily complicated), that *Sinuhe* and the *Shipwrecked Sailor* could have been influenced by an external source, which is now lost.

Studying another passage of *Sinuhe* (B 34–35 = R 58), I also showed that intertextuality could be hidden under some very allusive forms, being at the intersection of shared phraseology and community of style. Echoes of the passage of *Sinuhe* under discussion can be found in the narrative of the Punt expedition (*Urk*. IV, 324), while the particular interrogative expression *nn ḥr zy ỉšs.t* (= R 58) can be read on a stela of Tetisheri (*Urk*. IV, 27.10–12), where it is part of a triple sentence paragraph that makes use of three different kinds of interrogative nouns, which can arguably be shown to be emblematic of the 18th Dynasty and Ramesside style in texts that display some literary pretension (Kuban, 15–16 = K*RI* II, 355.16, and P. An. V, 20.4).

4.2. *Citations*

I now briefly consider the complex issue of citations in literary texts. As anyone familiar with Egyptian literature can attest, citations are difficult to spot.[17] Of course, the loss of a great deal of the textual material does not help. As is also the case for proverbs, the modern reader sometimes has the feeling that a sentence breaks with the general tone of the text. But caution is always required. For instance, the second sentence of the following passage from *Wenamun* has generally been understood as a proverb:

2 *m jr mr n=k nkt n jmn-rꜥ* <*nswt*> *nṯr.w*
yꜣ mꜣj mr ꜣḫ.t=f
"Do not seek for yourself something that belongs to Amun-Re, king of the gods, for he is a lion who likes his goods." (*Wen*. 2,33–34).

This of course very much depends on how one understands the grammatical structure of the sentence. The current translations seem to consider that the underlying predicative pattern is a Present I ("indeed, a lion likes his goods"), which would undoubtedly give the sentence a proverbial look.[18] But there is another explanation, which is more likely from a grammatical point of view, and has the advantage of linking more closely the two sentences together thematically. I here analyse the sentence as a nominal predication of the type A ∅, a pattern that is fairly common in Late Egyptian.[19] Furthermore, this has the advantage of offering a natural explanation for the absence of an article (or of the existential operator *wn*) before *mꜣj*, which is expected before an undefined subject with a First Present construction in this last phase of Late Egyptian.[20]

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known by only one manuscript, which can be safely attributed to the 12th Dyn. There are sometimes citations of the text (the best example is the ostracon of Menna, OIC 12074, r° 1), but this is insufficient to prove that the *Shipwrecked Sailor* was still known as a text, for citations might have become proverbs as well, definitely cut off from their source. For the complex issue of the reception of classical texts in the Late Period, see also Jasnow 1999.

17. For a general overview, see Brunner 1979 and Guglielmi 1984.

18. The translations unanimously have (with insignificant variants): "Truly a lion loves his things/ Look, a lion covets its property," with some additional comment pointing to the proverbial tone.

19. See Winand forthcoming d.

20. See Winand 1989.

In some all too rare cases, the citation has been made explicit by naming the source.[21] This can be illustrated by a well-known passage in pAnastasi I where a reference to the *Teaching of Djedefhor* is discussed by the scribe. A citation in the narrow sense implies that the one who makes it is conscious of its source and of its context, so that the citation can be made in an appropriate way. This is exactly why Hori rebuffed his colleague, because he shows his ignorance of the poem as a whole:

3 *ḏd=k n=j wꜥ ṯz n ḥr-dd=f, bw rḫ=k nfr r-pw bjn*
jṯ ḥw.t r ḥꜣ.t=f njm ḥr-sꜣ=f
"You cited a sentence of Djedefhor, but you do not know whether it is good or bad, and which chapter precedes it." (P. An. I, 11–12, with oDeM 1108 for the last part of the second line)

This makes the link with cases where citations have become frozen, being cut from the original text that produced them. This is probably the fate of many proverbs that have come down to us, although once again, this is admittedly very difficult to prove. The Triumphal Stela of Piankhi is full of reminiscences of classical texts: *Sinuhe*, the *Teaching of Amenemhet*, the *Eloquent Peasant*, the *Tales of P. Westcar*, the *Teaching of Merikare* to name only a few.[22] Whether these texts were still available in the 25th dynasty for a potential reader remains an open issue. For most of them—with the notable exception of wisdom texts—, this seems rather doubtful given the lack of material evidence in support of the continuity in transmission.[23]

A passage from the much celebrated letter of Menna (mid-20th dynasty) is a good illustration thereof. In a subtle manner, Menna, who wants to stigmatise his son's conduct, makes a comparison with a boat in open sea. He told his son he warned him of the tempest before its coming:

4 *sr(=j) n=k pꜣ ḏꜥ, bw jj.t=f*
"I have foretold you the tempest before it comes." (oOIC 12074, 1)
sr=sn ḏꜥ, n jj.t=f
"they were able to foretell a tempest before its coming." (*ShS* 97)

As has been long recognised, the wording is very similar to that of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*. But there are differences too: the scribe adapted the citation to the kind of literary Late Egyptian that was in use in his time by inserting an article before *ḏꜥ*, and by replacing the negation *n* with *bw*, while retaining the short form *jj.t=f* instead of opting for the periphrastic pattern *j.jr.t=f jj.t*, which has by then become the norm in non-literary texts. He also very sensitively adapted the sentence to his purpose, changing, even if this is not perceptible in the spelling, the grammatical tense, and inserting a pronominal dative (*n=k*) to fit the pragmatic situation. Now, as the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* has been transmitted in one single copy dated from the (late?) Middle Kingdom,[24] one can legitimately ask whether this 'citation' had not actually become a proverb when Menna composed his literary piece.[25]

21. As already noted by Guglielmi (1984: 347), citation without explicit reference to the source was not seen as plagiarism (a very modern concept), but rather as a (discrete) tribute and homage paid to a glorious predecessor.

22. See Grimal 1981: 284–290; *cf.* Jasnow 1999: 196–198.

23. On this, see Jasnow 1999, esp. 200f., which considers that works like *Sinuhe* could not have fallen into complete oblivion in the Late Period. Although the evidence he produces for *Sinuhe* seems convincing (at least as regards pSaqqara dem. 23), the possibility that what is commonly taken as a (conscious) citation could actually have frozen in proverbs is not really addressed.

24. On the date of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, see Parkinson 2002: 70–71 and 298–299.

25 See Vernus 2013: 200–201, who speaks of a "réminiscence plus ou moins confuse du passage du *Naufragé*," without taking a position on the manuscript tradition of this poem in the 20th Dynasty. See also Parkinson (1991/2005: xxix),

The fact that the beginning of the sentence (*sr=sn ḏꜥ*) has been rubricised in the *Shipwrecked Sailor's* papyrus might have made it a likely candidate to be singled out.

Becoming a proverb means that the citation is definitely cut off from the original source. Even if the path leading up to this change of status is difficult to trace, deliberate (and thus adaptable) citations and frozen citations must be distinguished from some phraseological stock at everyone's disposal. In the latter case, an expression found in two (or more) texts proves nothing more than sharing a common cultural encyclopaedia. More or less in the same vein, one should also consider the possibility of a scribe inserting in his text some words out of sheer reminiscence, without seeking a particular effect. This could well be the case for a well-known passage found in a miscellany, which unmistakably points to *Sinuhe*:[26]

5	*ḥꜣty=j nn sw m ẖ.t=j*	(P. An. IV, 5,3)
	ḥꜣty=j n ntf m ẖ.t=j	(*Sin*., B 255)

Citations can of course be made to different degrees of faithfulness. In some cases, they were probably made from memory. A good example of this might be a citation of *Djedefhor* in *Merikare*, where a chiasm can be observed between noun phrases in two parallel verses, a well-known case of memory confusion:[27]

6	*smnḫ pr=k n.t ẖr.t-nṯr,*	
	sjḳr s.t=k n.t jmnt.t	(*Djedefhor*, II,2)
7	*sjḳr ḥw.t=k n.t jmnt.t,*	
	smnḫ s.t=k n.t ẖr.t-nṯr	(*Merikare*, 127–130)

Citations can also keep the spirit of the original text, or change it. An extreme example in this respect is a letter from the el-Lahun archive (second half of the 12th dynasty), which distorts the traditional phraseology by wishing all possible woes to a fictional correspondent. In this case, one is very close to what is called a pastiche in French:

8 (date, A said that the lord has arrived in X)
bjn=wj jj=k ꜣḏ.tj wꜣḏ.tj
(response)
ḏd=k m bjn.t nb.t m ḥs.(*w*)*t n.t sbk* […]
bjn sḏm=k […]
mk šsp=n wnw.t bjn.t
"how bad it is that you came healthy and safe […] You speak all possible evils in the favours of Sobek […][28] It is bad to hear you […] Look, let's have a bad hour (together)." (P. UCL 32204)[29]

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who, following a remark made by Fecht (LdÄ, I, 642, s.v. Bauerngeschichte) explains the passage of the *Eloquent Peasant* in Menna as a piece of evidence in favour of the continuity of the textual transmission.

26. See Guglielmi (1984: 359–360), who uses the expression 'association of ideas' (Gedankenassoziation). One will note that the strong stylistic effect resulting from the use of the 3rd indep. pron. has been dissolved in the citation, where a flat dependant pronoun has been preferred.

27. Of course, one cannot exclude the possibility that the author of *Merikare* used a copy of *Djedefhor* different from the only one that has come down to us.

28. I here analyse *ḏd=k m bjn.t nb.t* as an emphatic construction. On the oblique construction *m* + SN for laying emphasis upon the direct object, see Winand 2014.

29 See Collier & Quirke 2002: 119.

The last example shows that playing with citations is definitely part of the literary game. In a way, one can probably go so far as to say that it is a sign of literature, in the same sense that irony is another good marker of literariness. My next example comes from the *Journey of Wenamun*.[30] During difficult negotiations between Wenamun and Tjekerbaal, the prince of Byblos, the latter boasts about himself, saying:

9 *jw=j ꜥš sgb r pꜣ Lbn j.jr tꜣ p.t wn jw nꜣ ẖt dy ẖꜣꜥ* (*ḥr*) *sp.t pꜣ ym*
"I will utter a cry loudly to the Lebanon, and as soon as the sky opens, the wood will be here lying on the ground." (*Wen.*, 2,13–14)

As has already been recognised, this passage is no doubt reminiscent of a hymn to Ramses V:[31]

10 *jw n=k tꜣ pḏ.t r km.t fꜣy-mlk n bꜣw=k*
ꜥš.k sgb r pꜣ lbn sꜥꜣ pꜣ hbn
"May the foreign lands come to you in Egypt bringing royal gifts for your power. May you cry loudly to the Lebanon so that it gives birth. The ebony (end of the papyrus)."[32]

It seems highly dubious that the prince had any previous knowledge of this piece of Egyptian literature. But the fact that the author put it in Tjekerbaal's mouth is a sign of literature. And he obviously did it with an ironic effect in mind, for he reversed the situation completely. In the original hymn, the royal gifts are coming from Lebanon to Egypt, and it is Pharaoh who cries his orders to the mountain. In our text, the gifts, which are also said to be royal, are coming to the prince from Egypt, and it is only Tjekerbaal who has the authority to give orders to Lebanon. The chiasm creates irony. The stylistic effect can be illustrated by the following figure:

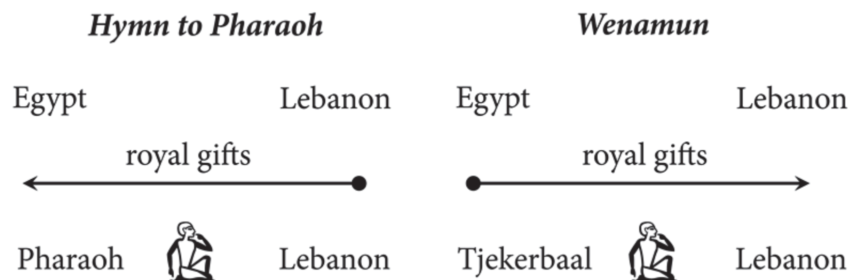

Fig. 7. Contrastive approach to a literary figure: the example of *Wenamun*.

Citations can also be very diffuse. In the next example, which has been discussed by Guglielmi,[33] some key words from a couplet of *Ptahhotep* (*dgꜣ, md.t/mdw, ḥm.t, bnw.t*) have been reused as *leitmotivs* in a substantial part of *Ipuwer*, extending over three sections:

11 *jw-ms jdḥw r-ḏr.f nn dgꜣ.tw.f* […]
jw-ms dj.tw ẖnm.w ḥr bnj.t
ḥbsj.w <*m*> *pꜣḳ.t ḥwy.tw m ḏꜣj.t* […]
ḥs.t.sn n mr.t m jrtjw
sḏd.w [*ṯz.w*] *ḥr bnj.t*
jw-ms ḥm.wt nb.t sẖm m rꜣ.sn
mdw ḥnw.t dns pw r bꜣk.w (*Ipuwer* IV, 6–14)

30 See Baines 1999 and Eyre 1999.

31. See Winand 1994, 2011. See Verhoeven 1996 for an edition of the text; *cf.* Eyre 1999, Moers 2001: 141.

32. As noted by Verhoeven (1996: 356), the rest of the text has been washed out. The segmentation of the text in couplets shows that the last word *hbny* began a new verse.

33. Guglielmi 1984.

dgꜣ md.t nfr.t r wꜣḏ
jw gm.tw.s m-ꜥ ḥm.wt ḥr bnw.t (*Ptahhotep* 58–59)

To sum up this section, it has become clear that literary figures like intertextuality, citation, pastiche, or reminiscence are not clear-cut categories.[34] Their reception is very much dependent on the reader's culture, which can in some cases be very remote from the author's original intentions. They should also be considered in a dynamic way, for in the course of time, the reception of a figure (and thus its perception by the reader) inevitably changes and adapts to new circumstances.

5. PROCESSES OF TRANSMISSION : THE CASE OF *SINUHE*

5.1. *Transmitting Egyptian Literature*

Until now I have been discussing how variety can be introduced in both kinds of tradition in the realm of literature. I now would like to come back to a very important, and in my view, still underestimated issue. In literature, and more broadly in any kind of written material where tradition is involved as a process of transmission, one usually postulates a unique source as the starting point, something that has sometimes been dubbed the alpha or the omega of the tradition.[35] This has laid the foundations for the building of the stemmas of classical texts.[36]

In Egyptology, this method has been applied to religious texts, such as the *Coffin Texts*.[37] As illustrated in the following figure, this is a traditional stemma neatly dividing itself in binary fashion.

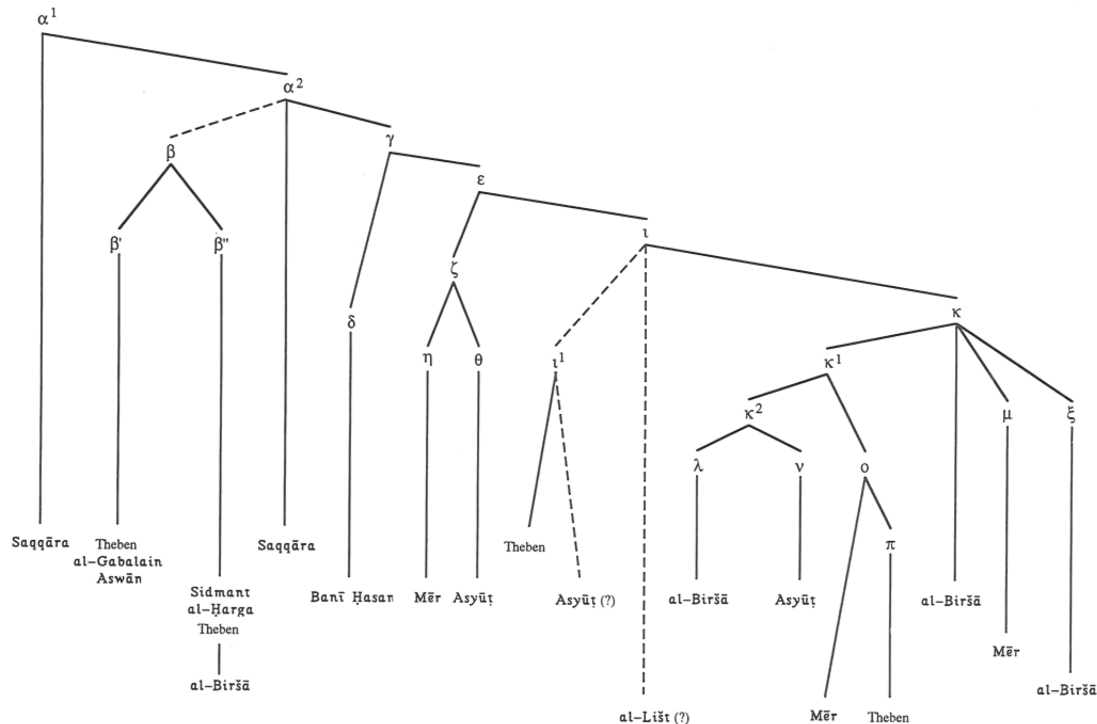

Fig. 8. General stemma for the *Coffin Texts* as proposed by Jürgens (1995: 68).

34. See already Guglielmi 1984: 348–349.

35. In reference to the conference held in Leiden on *Sinuhe* in 2009, whose title was "The Alpha and Omega of Sinuhe: Reinterpreting a Classical Middle Egyptian Text."

36. Also called Lachmann's method; see Winand 2013a.

37. Schenkel 1978; Jürgens 1995.

The following stemma has been suggested for the *Book of the Gates*.[38] It is a bit more complicated because of the interpolations that have been introduced between different branches of the stemma. But overall, it postulates a unique source and a first order binary division:

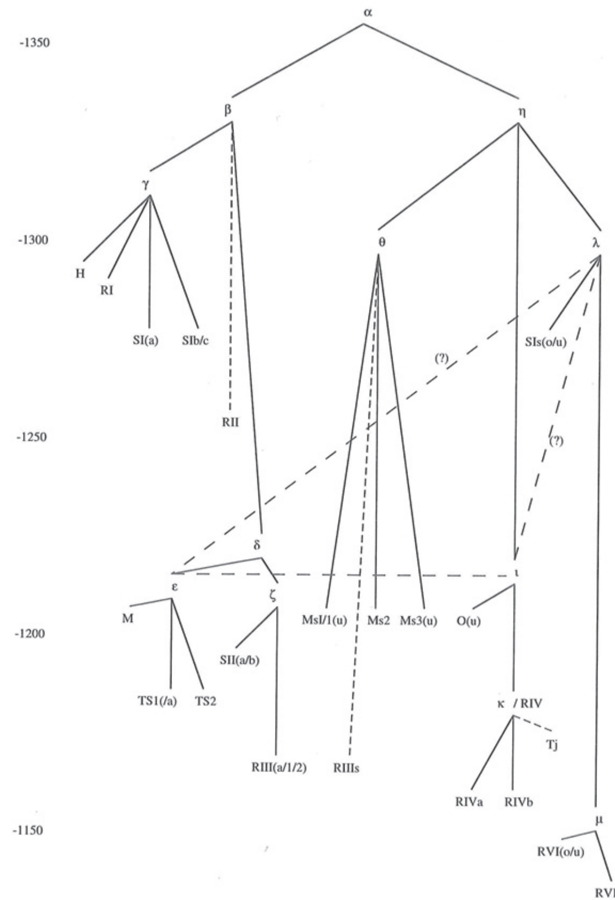

Fig. 9. Stemma for the *Book of the Gates* as proposed by Zeidler (1999: 126, abb. 21).

This model, as the only possible one, has been challenged in what is elsewhere called New Philology (a trademark in English studies). In Egyptology, it is very doubtful that an original composition written by the author himself—an autograph—has ever come down to us, at least as regards Middle Kingdom literature.[39] We most probably have only copies, even if in some cases, we can postulate that the oldest copy is not too remote in time from the original (as is probably the case for ms. B of *Sinuhe*). Even in these cases, one must address the very issue of what is intended by 'original.' Some literary texts from the Middle Kingdom give an idea of how a text could be fixed in writing during an oral performance (*Neferti*, *Eloquent Peasant*).[40]

If one considers the possibility that this way of disseminating literature was natural, then one is led to admit the possibility of some flexibility as regards authorship, which raises once again the interesting issue of what is actually meant by integrity as regards a piece of literature. The narrative frame that constitutes the background of *Neferti* and *The Eloquent Peasant* suggests that writing down a text during a hearing was not exceptional. One has of course no idea of how literature propagated

38. See Zeidler 1999.

39. In the New Kingdom, there are possible exceptions like the writings of Amennakhte, a well-known and real character of the community of Deir el-Medineh: see Polis forthcoming.

40. See Winand 2013a.

itself, but if such a process was repeated, it is only natural that the author or the performer would be tempted to introduce some variation during the performances.

5.2. *Transmitting Sinuhe*

In the *Story of Sinuhe*, there are several variations between the two main lines (B and R) that cannot be easily explained or reconciled within the frame of a classic transmission. I have suggested elsewhere the possibility that several versions of the text might have co-occurred. If so, those versions must be considered as many potential prototypes for the different lines of the transmission.

From the New Kingdom onwards, on the other hand, after the philological recension of the 18th dynasty took place, the text was transmitted within a purely reproductive, one can even say canonical, tradition, at least in the small world of the Theban community, since there is no direct testimony coming from elsewhere. Were such a reconstruction of the textual transmission to be accepted, it would nicely show that productive and reproductive processes, far from being in opposition, could also be considered as complementary.

I also suggested that *Sinuhe* and the *Teaching of Amenemhet* ought to be considered as the protagonists of a literary play. The *Teaching*, whose oldest manuscript cannot antedate the New Kingdom, but whose composition perhaps took place some time earlier when one takes into account the graffiti recently discovered by U. Verhoeven in Asyut,[41] should be considered a literary response to *Sinuhe*. As far as we know, there is no hint in *Sinuhe* that the old king died under suspicious circumstances, not to mention a violent death. All that we know is that his presumptive heir, the prince Sesostris, was far away from the Residence when his father passed away.[42] We also know that Sesostris had a lot of brothers or half-brothers around him, and probably others that had remained in the Residence. Friends of Sesostris (the *smr.w nw stp-sꜣ*) who had his confidence did their best to inform him of his father's death, urging him to come back as soon as possible. As History tells us, it is never good to be far away from the centre of power in such circumstances. Thus Sesostris was told very discreetly, at some distance from the camp, that his father had passed away. It happened that Sinuhe overheard a part of it.[43] Probably knowing by experience or by mere hearsay that successions can sometimes be difficult, he panicked and fled.

For decades, Egyptologists have been asking why Sinuhe made this choice. Considered from our contemporary perspective, it was of course very tempting to link the *Story of Sinuhe* to the *Teaching*. In the *Teaching*, there is no reason to doubt that Amenemhet was left dead after a sudden attack coming from within the palace. So Egyptologists came to believe that Sinuhe knew more than he would confess, that he was perfectly aware of the crime. But another explanation offers itself, which is more respectful of the respective histories of the two texts. In my opinion, the one who composed the *Teaching* did the same as what Egyptologists did centuries later: he tried to make sense of Sinuhe's flight. The *Teaching* can accordingly be seen as a literary response to *Sinuhe*. If the hero fled, it was because the king had been murdered, so the story unfolds. At some point in the story, Sinuhe told the

41. For the much debated date of the Teaching's composition, see Stauder 2013.

42. *Cf.* Baines 1984: 42, who already stated that "The weakness of motivation is irrelevant in terms of the plot, which simply requires that Sinuhe go abroad."

43. For the interesting and already much discussed variation between B 1–2: *sḏm.n=j ḫrw=f jw=f ḥr md.t* "I heard his voice while he was speaking" (progressive) vs. R 25: *sḏm.n=j ḫrw=f jw=f mdw=f* "I heard his voice as he spoke" (non-progressive), see Winand 2013a.

sheikh he expected some troubles would happen, which is not extraordinary after the death of the first king of a new dynasty, especially if the hereditary prince is far away, having been sent on a mission to Libya, but this was reinterpreted as a sign that the king had died in mysterious circumstances.

In the New Kingdom, probably sometime in the 18th Dynasty, there was a philological recension of the text of *Sinuhe*. The one who was (or those who were) responsible for the new edition integrated the *Teaching*'s *interpretatio* and somehow tried to make a response to the *Teaching*. Elaborating upon the development made in the *Teaching*, they went so far as to suggest that Sinuhe was a son of Amenemhet, which could explain why he felt he had no other choice but to flee to a foreign country.

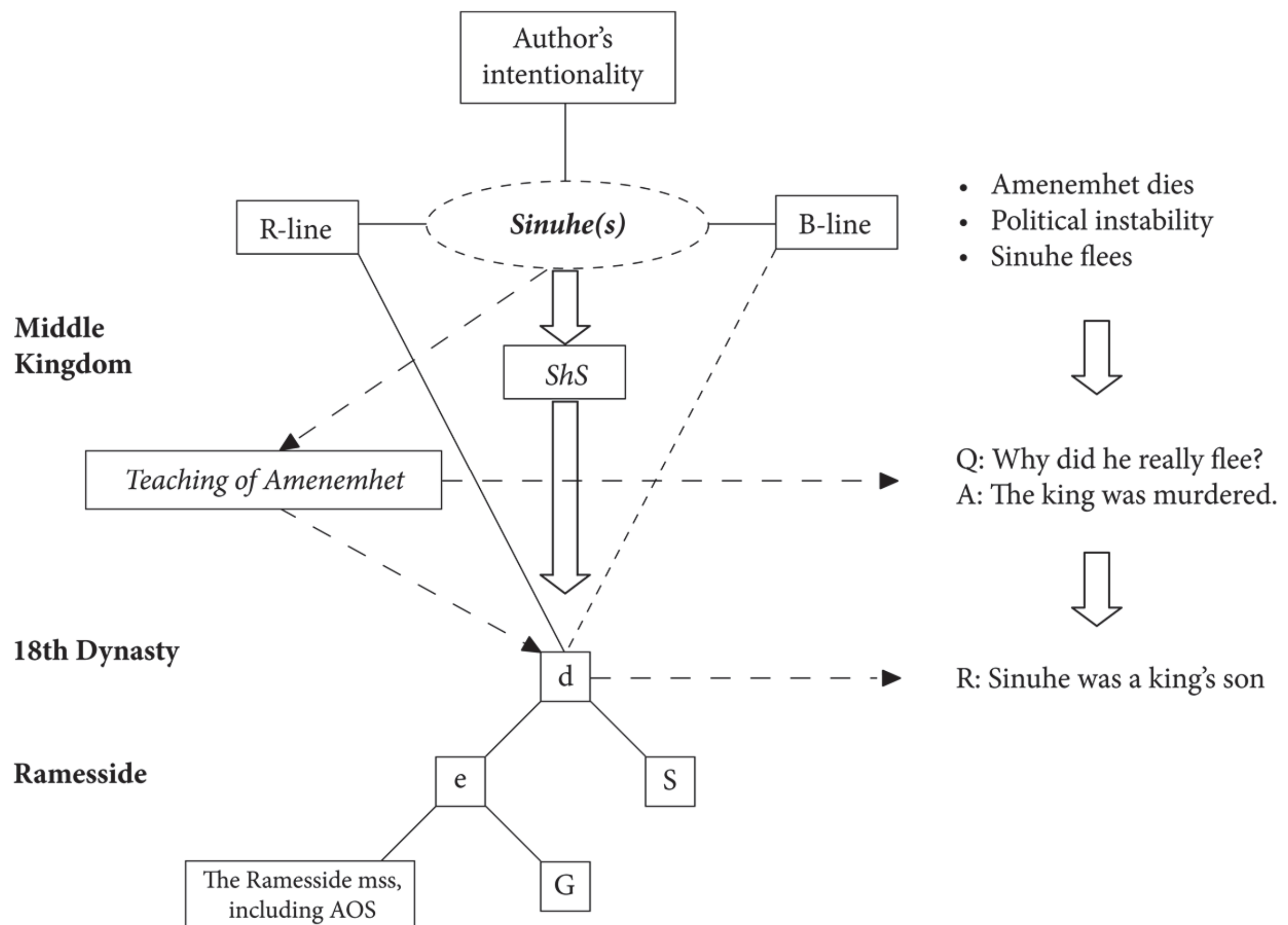

Fig. 10. The literary interplay between *Sinuhe* and the *Teaching of Amenemhet.*

The relationships between *Sinuhe* and the *Teaching* can be sketched in a figure. For the sake of completion, I also traced a possible path of mutual influence between *Sinuhe* and the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, along the hypothesis I made previously in this paper. While the interplay between *Sinuhe* and the *Teaching* is part of the literary discourse that took place in Ancient Egypt, the relations between *Sinuhe* and the *Shipwrecked Sailor* are rather manifestations of intertextuality.

6. Tradition(s) and 'Égyptien de tradition'

In the last part of this paper, I briefly discuss some linguistic issues, more particularly related to what has been called 'Égyptien de tradition' after a brilliant idea of Pascal Vernus, a label that has now become 'traditional' and kind of a landmark in our field.

When speaking of 'Égyptien de tradition,' the following qualifications immediately come to mind:

- it is reproductive,
- it is mimetic, which means that the scribes deliberately tried to emulate, to copy, to imitate the linguistic standard(s) of the past,
- it is conservative, which means that the scribes tried to renew an age that was seen as a Golden Age, a time which itself was linked to the mythic time of the origins, the *zp tpj*.

The figure below tries to capture the functioning of 'Égyptien de tradition.' As already stated, this artificial stage, at least when considered from a linguistic viewpoint, took as its models and its roots Classical Egyptian, but Old Egyptian was not completely left out. The influence of these two ancient phases did not of course come to 'Égyptien de tradition' in its pristine state, naked and pure, but through filters that varied according to times and places.

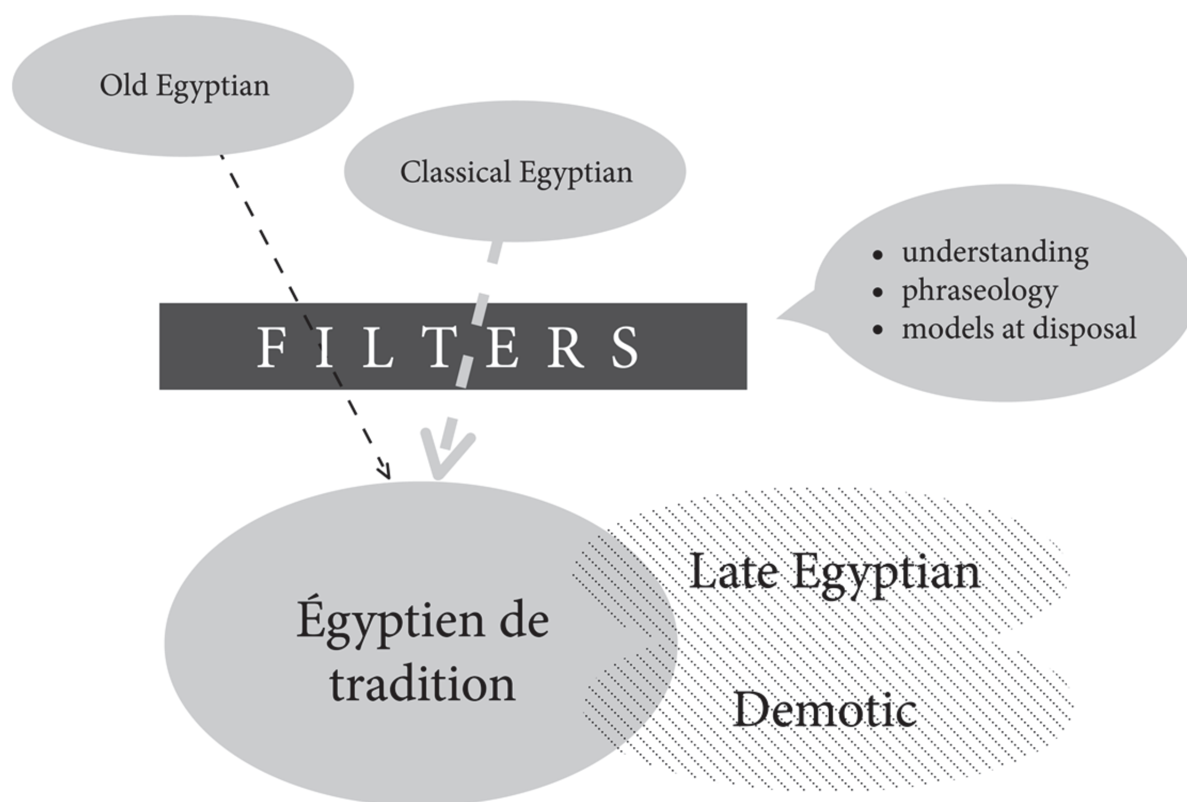

Fig. 11. Égyptien de tradition in a complex linguistic environment.

The understanding a scribe could have of Earlier Egyptian in Ramesside times (or a hierogrammate in Graeco-Roman times) was heavily dependent upon the models he had access to in the libraries, mainly temple libraries. This could understandably vary from place to place. It is difficult to get a precise idea of how a beginner acquired his knowledge of such an idiom, which was so remote from the language he was accustomed to in everyday life, or even the one he used in his administrative practice. One can easily deduce that he had access to an experienced scribe to assist him in his first steps; there also existed lists with equivalents of old words matched against the idiom that was then in use, Late Egyptian or Demotic, but we do not know whether there was a particular training and, if so, how this was organised. But the idea that the scribes were able to deduce for themselves how 'Égyptien de tradition' worked could admittedly vary for several reasons: time, place, relative comprehensiveness of temple libraries, cultural environment, one's own intellectual capacities, etc.

'Égyptien de tradition' was not of course immune to the vernacular that was in use from the New Kingdom to Graeco-Roman times. Late Egyptian, and afterwards Demotic, influenced 'Egyptien de tradition' in many respects: vocabulary, morphology and syntax. And there is more. 'Égyptien de tradition' sometimes acted as a black box. As shown below, scribes sometimes elaborated new paradigms and assigned new uses to old forms, which do not conform to Earlier Egyptian nor to Late Egyptian or Demotic.[44] This of course means that 'Égyptien de tradition' is far from being a monolithic entity, even if its fascinating history still remains to be written.

As an illustration of how 'Égyptien de tradition' interacted with its linguistic environment, I here briefly discuss how Middle Egyptian could in some cases be reinterpreted by the scribes. I already dealt with the use of *sḏm.ḫr=f* in a New Kingdom manuscript of *Sinuhe* (*cf. supra*, § 3). I now turn to the paradigm *wn.ḫr=f ḥr sḏm*, which is attested in the Middle Kingdom. Like the commoner pattern *sḏm.ḫr=f*, it became archaic in the New Kingdom when it was replaced by *ḫr*-headed constructions. The use of the *wn.ḫr=f ḥr sḏm* pattern in royal inscriptions by the end of 18th dynasty can be interpreted as an index pointing to the cultural sphere of classical texts, as shown in the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun:

12 *wn.ḫr ḥm=f ḥr wꜣwꜣ zḫ ḥnꜥ jb=f ḥr ḏꜥr zp nb mnḫ*
"and then His Person deliberated with himself, looking for any excellent occasion." (CGC 34183, l. 11–12)

The *wn.ḫr* morph was probably felt by the scribes to be an authentic sign of classical literature. They accordingly extended its use beyond what was common practice in the Middle Kingdom. The pattern *wn.ḫr sḏm=f*, which is for instance attested in the first Hittite marriage, is a good illustration of this process:

13 *wn.ḫr ḏd=f m jb* (*?*) *mtw=f wḏ mdw.t*
"and he spoke with (?) heart and he ordered the words […]" (1st hittite marriage, 19 = K*RI* II, 240.6)[45]

Although this construction has not been spotted in the Middle Kingdom, it nevertheless stays within the limits of the grammatical system of Middle Egyptian. But it would be very difficult to analyse the pattern *wn.ḫr + jr sḏm=f*, which is attested in the short version of the same text along the same lines:

14 *wn.ḫr jr wḏꜣ ꜥḥꜣwtj s.t-ḥm.t r-pw m wpj=sn r ḏꜣhj pḥ=sn r tꜣ n ḫtꜣ nn snḏ ḥꜣ jb=sn n ꜥꜣ.w* <*n*> *nḫtw ḥm=f*
"and thus, if a man or a woman went out for their business to Djahy, they could reach the land of Khatti without fear around their hearts because the victories of His Person are so great." (1st Hitt. marriage, short version, Karnak, l. 18 = K*RI* II, 257.15)

44. For instance, although the language used in the *Book of Caverns* (Werning 2011; *cf.* review by Winand 2013b) broadly conforms to Old and Classical Egyptian idioms, there are uses that are definitely at odds with Earlier Egyptian without being inherited from Late Egyptian, as is the case for the negative relative pronoun *jwtj*, the *mrr=f*, or the conjunction *m-ḫt*. Independent uses of the pseudo-participle, while indexical of the practice of Earlier Egyptian (in the sense of Stauder), unconsciously overreach/outperform the actual practice of these remote times.

45. The text, which is here only preserved on the Abu Simbel Marriage Stela (I), is here badly damaged (the translation given by Kitchen ["Thereupon, he speaks his mind […]", see RITA II,91] does not fit with the remaining signs). The presence of a conjunctive (provided that the reading is safe) would deserve a discussion of its own (see Winand 2001).

Here one must consider *wn.ḫr jr sḏm=f* as an innovative combination created in the 19th dynasty. More or less in the same spirit, one can make a comparison with a curious construction attested during the reign of Ramses II's predecessor that combines the auxiliary *wn.jn* with a circumstantial clause introduced by *jw*:

15 *wn.jn ḥm=f jw [jb=f] rs-tp n{n} ꜥꜥw.n=f* ( ) *ḥr ḥḥj mn[w n jt=f] mnw-jmn ḥr-jb bḥnj*
"and also His Person's mind was awake, without being able to sleep, looking for monuments for his father Min-Amun in Buhen." (Buhen Stela of Ramses I, l. 9 = K*RI* I, 3.1–2)[46]

This admittedly small case study convincingly shows that even in a textual register where the emulation of the past was the norm, there was room for innovation. Similar observations could be made at the phonographemic level (where adaptations sometimes happen to meet some phonetic evolutions), at the morphological level (for instance, in the endings of the pseudo-participle), in some verbal patterns (as shown, for instance, in the regular presence of the Third Future, or in the occasional use of the Conjunctive), or in the vocabulary (as illustrated by the insertion of Late Egyptian or Demotic words, or by the use of some foreign, mainly Semitic, words).

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46. The spelling of *ꜥꜥw* seems to be unique. The reading does not raise serious difficulties, for the collocation of *rs-tp* and *ꜥꜥw* (always in the negative) is attested since the Middle Kingdom (*cf.* TLA DZA 21.666.590); the collocation of *ꜥꜥw* and *ḥr ḥḥj* (in this case, excellent deeds) is also attested on the Karnak alabaster Stela of Seti I (K*RI* I, 39.6–7). The spelling with the hare could be a rare manifestation of an internal sandhi caused by the presence of the morph –*n* (like the spelling *nj-sw*, with the sign Gardiner F20).

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